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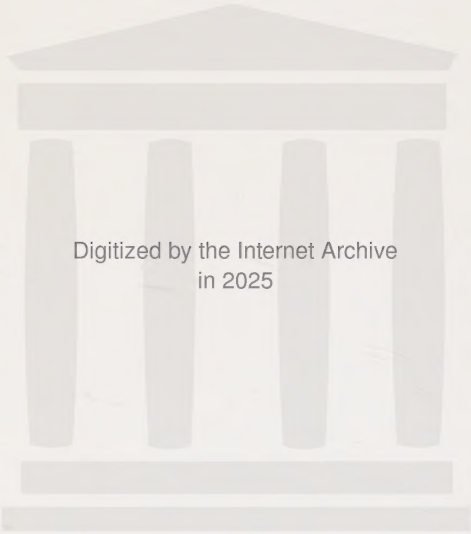

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CONSERVATIVE DEMOCRACY

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CONSERVATIVE DEMOCRACY

Principles and Practise of American Democracy

By PAUL KESTER

Author of
His Own Country

OVERBROOK, PENNA.
ST. JOSEPH'S COLLEGE
1852

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INDIANAPOLIS
THE BOBBS-MERRILL COMPANY
PUBLISHERS

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The Bobbs-Merrill Company

Printed in the United States of America

PRESS OF
BRAUNWORTH & CO.
BOOK MANUFACTURERS
BROOKLYN, N. Y.

CONSERVATIVE DEMOCRACY

Conservative Democracy

I

DEMOCRACY

Democracy is no new thing. It is as old as the hills. Indeed, it is much older. Its principles were latent and potential when this earth of ours was a hot mud ball whirling lividly through space. Its fundamentals belong to the eternal verities, and are as inevitable as logic, religion, evolution or the law of gravity. The mind can follow its evolution into infinity, while the humblest task which is done in its name will have beauty and dignity.

Democracy, like Christianity, of which it is only another form of expression, is a perfect and complete philosophy of life, even more than it is a theory of government; a true and beautiful thing, which requires not only appreciation but conformity to enable it to complete its service to mankind.

In America we owe our democracy primarily to our fortunate heredity and to our fortunate environment. England gave us a heritage of stubborn personal freedom, a freedom unbending and unbroken down all the centuries. From Scotland and from Wales and Ireland came love

of independence almost as strong in current and in kind. From the Low Countries and from the Valley of the Rhine came men and women seeking freedom. From France came a brave band of Huguenots. A great company, strangely diversified, but inevitably unified by a common passionate desire for spiritual and political liberty.

To them opened a land as free and broad as the liberty they sought, a land unstamped by one association of old rule, by one tradition foreign to the great end for which they sought it. That they did not use either their heritage or their environment always blamelessly is not so surprising in the retrospect as the noble use which in the main they made of both.

But there can be no monopoly of democracy. Its evidences are scattered through every page of history. There have always been democrats in the world—men governing themselves by the pure theory of democracy. Men have been groping toward democracy all down the ages. They have sensed it and lost it; have recovered it, only to lose it again, and again to recover it. It has long had partial practise under various forms of government and under many names. Without its leavening influence no state or government could have endured.

Power had its origin in the association of men for a common purpose. Out of this association grew leadership. Through all the ages power

has sustained itself as best it could. Sometimes it was the people's friend, more often, through abuse, it became their enemy. Authority, to perpetuate itself in the control of the agencies of power, early began to clothe itself in sophistry. It allied itself with religion, with superstition, with nationality, with patriotism, with personality, that it might the better play upon the strong element of love and loyalty which abides in the human heart.

The theory of the divine right of kings, of infallibility, and all the kindred sophistries, were advanced primarily as aids to authority and to the perpetuation of authority. A vast web, a vast network in which to enmesh the minds of men, was thus begun, to increase which power and authority have never ceased to strive.

Under this handicap a great portion of mankind still labors. But back of these shifts of power and authority to maintain themselves and to extend their sway lay deep principles, the principles of cooperation, order, justice, security and progress, the recognition of individuality, the principles of democracy.

From time to time prophets arose; lawgivers, philosophers, great religious teachers, great generals, great and good kings; a noble host, which, self-impelled, led the long exodus down the dim ages from ignorance to enlightenment.

All these old forms and agencies of power, all the continuing currents of influences ancient before our time, have left us a heritage of both good and evil, and it was only the rebirth of a people in a new land that enabled any great body of mankind simultaneously to view the whole course of events in perspective and to assort the elements of government and recombine them to form what we now call American democracy. Without this separation by the sea it is doubtful if the human family could have evolved our philosophy of government and have put it into practise in the last quarter of the eighteenth century.

In England, and on the Continent as well, freedom had long been consciously stirring. Personal democracy was in some respects further advanced in England than with us, but we had not the unbroken succession of governing ideas, nor the long continuity of rule, with its natural attachments, to constrain us. Tradition had been broken in a measure at least by the influence of ocean and of wilderness, and, while England is to-day in many respects a freer and more democratic nation than our own, yet we like to believe that she owes something of her democracy to the colonial Britons who set up American democracy on the foundations of their English inheritance of character and tradition.

It is only, then, within comparatively recent

times that men have become consciously aware of the higher principles which have compelled and guided the advance of nations; and it is only now that they are able in any numbers to renounce and throw off the baneful influences which have so long sought to perpetuate gross governmental abuses, and to enslave their minds, that they might continue to dedicate them to the perpetuation of institutions which have long outlived their usefulness.

Few of us realize that, potent and wide of application as democratic institutions are to-day and vital as their spread and continuance must be to all mankind, the actual numbers of those who believe in democracy and who attempt to live in accordance with its simple principles are few in comparison with those who give their allegiance to altogether different governmental theories. Indeed, hundreds of millions of human beings, still the vast majority of the inhabitants of the earth, believe themselves indifferent or hostile to its tenets.

II

RIVAL THEORIES OF GOVERNMENT

The educational value of the great war can not be overestimated. The most terrible event in history has become the most instructive. And it has befallen at a time when the communication of facts and ideas is immediate wherever civilization extends. Our era is re-

ceptive beyond any other which history records. Never before were peoples and nations so generally sensitive or so responsive to ethical standards.

While we do not perhaps believe that the world has been altogether changed by the war, nor that war itself will never come again, nor that our tasks resulting from the war are necessarily final, nor indeed that we are called upon, now and forever, to settle all matters national and international; while we realize that self-determination belongs to generations as well as to peoples, and that the generations of the future will undoubtedly exercise their right, yet we do believe that ours is a great moment in history and that ours is a great duty, ours a great opportunity.

When vast numbers of free men voluntarily and simultaneously act upon principles, those principles, however abstract they may seem, become, through their inspirational power, vital forces in the material world, and the most literally minded must take account of them if he would understand the obvious evidences which bear witness to their application upon every hand.

The public safety requires that we should not only find the mainspring of our actions in true basic principles, but that we should be consciously aware of the soundness of the beliefs which sway us and which dictate our actions.

The element of free will and choice which mankind enjoys makes our part in evolution a conscious, intelligent and purposeful part, and places upon us an obligation which we do not appear to share with any other living thing. Having been taken as it were into the confidence of the Creator, we can not betray the confidence reposed in us, and it is plain that there can be no consistent application of principles which are neither definitely apprehended nor clearly comprehended. To do well by chance or accident is fortunate, but it is not so desirable as to advance steadily along a path made clear by the light of understanding. Faith has its high functions, but it should not be dulled by groping with the obvious.

Two governmental theories, in themselves abstract, have been vividly illustrated before the world, clearly and unmistakably identified with the two groups of combatants, while a third has suddenly become aggressive and has spread like a pestilence over Russia.

With the return of peace three governmental systems will be urged upon the acceptance of mankind: these are autocracy, thinly disguised as imperialism; socialism, in its various forms, and democracy. Upon the choice our generation makes depends, in no small measure, the peace, well-being and development of the whole world.

III

AUTOCRACY

Autocracy, as autocracy, has exposed itself in all its final hideousness. No evidence could have brought it so low as the complete and awful evidence which it has voluntarily borne against itself. Might without right is utterly discredited. But the autocratic spirit is not dead. It is still to be reckoned with, for it remains, more or less securely entrenched, wherever centralized power exists, whether in republics or in monarchies, and it will not pass from the stage of human affairs without a mighty struggle. There is an autocracy of the spirit as well as an autocracy of act. Both are utterly at variance with democracy.

Obvious autocracy, we all know, stands for a highly efficient misapplication of the energies and abilities of a nation. It deifies power and makes ends of means and subverts the whole reasonable scheme of organized society into an agency for its own aggrandizement and perpetuation. It creates a tyrannical centralized energy oppressive to those who maintain it and menacing to all others. Imbued with this spirit, Germany has run the whole gamut of abominations. We all know beyond peradventure that autocracy is without mercy, honor, decency or any saving sense of humor. Common sense abhors it.

If we carry autocracy to its logical conclusion we arrive at a small ruling class and a nation of slaves; slaves free only to practise their subordinate abominations upon those weaker than themselves. A hopeless brutalization of high and low. The glorification of things which are in no sense glorious, the deification of material things, the enthronement of force, the suppression of reason.

Autocracy, with its inevitably inflexible and imperialistic methods, is impatient of all standards save its own, and in its choice of means it is both arbitrary and violent. It is indifferent to the burdens which it imposes. It is advocated by those who desire to rule over others rather than to govern themselves. It gives an external expression to rather coarse, obvious and somewhat obsolete ambitions.

IV

SOCIALISM

Socialism is the second system which mankind is invited to adopt. If there is a beneficent socialism it is not with it that the world is now concerned. Emerging from beneath the broken wings of autocracy, the socialism with which the world has now to deal would end all wars between nations only to begin a universal war of classes. We in America may well ask, with some apprehension, what socialism, with its

advocacy of class warfare, contemplates when it comes to the backward races. The negro in America practically constitutes one class. Is class warfare here desirable, and to what limits does the application of this principle extend, or within what limits is it confined?

The whole theory of socialism, though much exploited, is still vague and as yet practically untried save as a parasite of autocracy, of which it appears to be the essential by-product. So far as it is popularly understood, and so far as its evidences have been observed, it is both leveling and compulsory, partial in vision and prejudiced in judgments, and partial in the ends at which it aims. It is concerned for the welfare of a class, not for all humanity. It would stamp out a pattern and say to mankind, grow after this fashion. It merely seeks to set up drab-colored masters in the place of those more brilliantly bedecked. It stands for the arbitrary division of material values. It is restraining. It is impatient. It seeks to correct one social injustice by imposing another.

It incites bitter antagonisms in indivisible bodies with the hope of profiting by the havoc created. In practise it appears destructive. It has no spiritual aspirations. It is as agnostic and as material as autocracy. Its best excuse is that it was born of revolt against intolerable conditions, and represents the effort of the people, distorted and unbalanced by autocratic in-

stitutions, to restore some sort of proportion and to survive in an unnatural relation.

Like autocracy, socialism is totally devoid of humor. It is full of cant, catch-words and a cheap and obvious hypocrisy of brotherhood. It is permeated by restlessness, excitement, egotism and bitter fanaticism. Its pronounced sympathy for autocracy is not as strange as it seems, for socialism is itself autocratic.

Autocracy and socialism, and the spirit of arbitrary power which is inseparable from each, attracted by the success of the American experiment, and its wide field of operation, are now seeking to graft their insidious formulas upon our healthy institutions that they may crowd out the vigorous normal growth of true democracy. To permit either to invade our institutions, which even with our best endeavors are as yet none too sensitive to the spirit of democracy, would be to retard the progress of mankind in the exact proportion to the influence exerted by their agencies.

It is therefore of the utmost importance that those who believe in democracy should hold fast to their faith, resisting all easy opportunism and all plausible sophistries, and press on unswervingly in the service of their high ideals, remembering that they alone bear witness before the non-democratic millions who have yet to make their election that in democracy is, in very truth, the little leaven which must leaven the whole world.

V

SOME FUNDAMENTAL PRINCIPLES OF DEMOCRACY

Democracy is concerned far more with individual conduct than with the governmental agencies of a free people. But as governmental agencies and governmental activities react directly upon the people to their great advantage or to their detriment, democracy must concern itself with bringing such agencies and such activities into conformity with its principles. Democracy never lighted a fagot, never used the rack, never set torch to building, never resorted to cruel or unusual punishments, never pursued selfish ends. Humanity aligns itself with the principles of democracy, and seeks to give those principles effect through all governmental agencies as the only means of securing for itself a just, peaceful and unhampered evolution.

Democracy is the practise of pure equity between individuals; between individuals and communities; between communities and nations, and between nation and nation. In the last analysis democracy governs by development, not by restraint. It promulgates laws rather than enforces rules. It develops the best that is in us in our relations to one another, and it governs through the forces which it awakens in our hearts. It seeks to give the broadest possible application to the highest possible

standards; to insure intellectual and spiritual freedom, to remove every mental and spiritual barrier which tends to deform, belittle, becloud or subjugate the minds of men. Enlightenment is more important to it than attainment. Cure rather than punishment is among its tenets.

Democracy is the best of the heart interpreted by the best of the head, with a reasonable allowance for the human equation. It is a state of life in which no human act is unimportant. It is all inclusive, the pressure of its obligations rests evenly on all alike. The daily life of the average citizen is as much a function of democracy as the acts of so-called governmental agencies. This root principle of democracy permits a thousand activities which are all parts of a harmonious whole. It is on this principle that the law of individual initiative rests so securely.

In practise democracy is orderly. It is stable. It seeks only those readjustments in human relations which tend to enduring betterment. It works with the flow of evolutionary forces, never in opposition to them. It makes to-morrow a better day for every living thing.

Democracy represents the force of many honest wills and clear intelligences working collectively and harmoniously for the general good. Democracy recognizes that true liberty rests finally upon the self-development and self-control of the individual. It cherishes honest self-

reliance. Democracy recognizes moral force as the great determining factor, and this it seeks to supplement by the natural sequence of logical thought and logical action.

Democracy is tolerant and elastic in operation. It permits of easy adjustments. And it is patient because it is sure. It is as beneficent as the sunshine and the rain and as impersonal. It has no part in any brutal or arbitrary act. All who shelter themselves beneath it are not of it. It is not thin, anemic nor attenuated. There is nothing whatever to be afraid of about it. It is hearty, simple, smiling, friendly, homely and human. It recognizes the right of the individual to happiness, to the reward of his labors, and to security in his peaceful pursuits. It is good will and justice between men. It is the highest common sense. Its processes are open to all, but its living spirit alone assures any man a place in its great company. A king may be an absolute democrat, a petty official may be an odious despot. It is the animating spirit which determines.

Democracy is the only philosophy of government which can solve all problems with justice and with evolutionary practicality, for it is merely a sane application of true principles. Its standards are simple. It appeals to the intelligence. It asks no faith which is not founded on reason and no allegiance which is not of the heart.

Democracy is of wide sympathy. It excludes none. It victimizes no class. It penalizes no class. It is the only form of government which recognizes no class distinctions; to which servility is as abhorrent as arrogance; which neither seeks to make men rich nor poor, nor to perpetuate any class in its condition, but which seeks continually to equalize opportunity, and to deny hope to none. The tide rises and falls, but there is no submergence. Only in a true democracy can the Christian philosophy of life find full expression; and it is upon this supreme philosophy that our slowly developing practise of democracy must rest.

Democracy is open in all its dealings, for it has nothing to conceal. Men develop freely in its atmosphere. It calls for no sacrifice of the things of the spirit. It asks no compromise of honor. It follows the broad middle path. It has one spirit, but many applications. It is not rigid. "Do unto others as you would have others do unto you," is the first of its tenets.

Democracy takes into account the ethical verities, and it practises forbearance, justice and mercy. It can sustain the weak and reassure the strong. It cares little for externals, and pomp and the symbols of power are not necessary to it. It is full of neighborly kindness and good will; it is patient and long suffering, and its power is only terrible to the tyrant and the oppressor. It venerates no man except

for his virtues, and its awe is reserved for kind and patient women, and for those who do well and make no boast. It is without fanaticism. It is without extravagance of expectation. Its passions are none the less strong because they are controlled.

In the whole range and scheme of democracy there is nothing destructive. It is certainly an agency of the evolutionary force which urges the advance of mankind toward a goal which though as yet unseen may be perceived. It is not an experiment, though we, in our ignorance and half-understanding, may experiment with the application of its principles in seeking to discover their full meaning and to align our conduct with them.

VI

DEMOCRACY INCLUSIVE IN PURPOSE

Democracy aims at the highest possible human attainment, not merely an average but an individual attainment, and it so seeks to apportion opportunity with responsibility that a complete and harmonious development shall result. Its purpose is not government by mob, as some suppose, but self-government by highly developed, responsible citizens, competent in every sense to perform their public duties. The democratic principle is that the responsible individual unit contributes, and only collectively controls.

Democracy freely admits that developed, enlightened and responsible intelligences and aroused consciences have necessarily and inevitably greater obligations to organized society than less developed and awakened intelligences. But it is the single purpose of democracy to increase the number of such intelligences until all are included, and this by opportunity quite as much as by tutelage, precept and example.

While democracy undoubtedly seeks the universal application of its principles, it would be absolutely untrue and misleading to say that all individuals, all races, all nations, are at this moment competent to exercise self-government on democratic principles. It is true, however, that all that is best in any form of government wherever found is allied to democracy, and that all races and nations, however backward, must sooner or later reach a period in their evolution when a democratic state becomes the normal state.

VII

NECESSARY LIMITATION OF PRIMARY REPRESENTATION

Democracy presupposes competence. It is impossible to concede to all, developed and undeveloped alike, the same influence upon public events. Their incapacity debars the backward not from the exercise or enjoyment of private rights, but only from the performance of public duties.

The right of representation which is inherent in suffrage, and which suffrage implies, presupposes capacities and entails obligations. This primary right of representation, upon which all legislative and administrative authority rests, belongs only to those competent to the discharge of the obligation assumed. It is not a vested right of citizenship. Those under age, those disqualified by disease or other affliction, those not yet enfranchised, all these find in the man with the ballot their first and most essential representative. Only developed capacity justly entitles any man to exercise of this primary representation. Latent capability demands opportunity for development only. Its time of service follows but can not precede the process of development.

It is only fair and frank to admit that democracy could not, if it would, hand over its responsibilities to those unfitted to exercise them, but it can not be too clearly stated that it seeks by every legitimate means to hasten the day when all men shall be competent to their responsibilities. Democracy recognizes that the development of the individual is the only real security of the state, that it is the inalienable right of the individual, and that it is equally the right and concern of his fellows. Clod-like ignorance and unquestioning obedience no longer sustain any government or safeguard any state of society. Semi-developed, excited, irresponsible

and aggressive intelligences constitute the chief peril of our time. Ours is evidently a period of transition. When education becomes so general that true enlightenment follows this peril will have passed.

Perhaps the highest accomplishment of our attempted application of the principles of democracy, surely the most hopeful sign, is to be found in the wide-spread evidence that this better enlightenment has become as general as it is real among us. Sound citizenship is the only true foundation of sound and enduring government. Where evolution is unhampered revolution is discounted.

VIII

DEMOCRACY A SELF-IMPOSED RULE

Democracy is a self-imposed rule of the people for the self-development of the people, and its limits are determined by its obligations. Democracy seeks to rouse a sense of moral responsibility which replaces external control by self-control. This is not to say that laws are needless in a democracy. They are in fact very necessary to define those boundaries where entity touches entity, and to indicate the duties and obligations of the one to the many, and of the many to the one. They are the social contract of the mutuality of individual interests. But their origin is solely to be found in the will of the people who by this means give expression

to their desire to live in conformity to the higher law. Laws can be increased or reduced in number and in kind as circumstances dictate. Men conform to them rather than are constrained by them in the theory of democracy.

In principle the law, or conformity to rule by common consent for the common advantage, intervenes only when a man, or group of men, in the pursuit of what he or they consider their rights or pleasures or advantage, trample upon or encroach upon the rights of others.

Freedom and opportunity should be the portion of every man; to deny him these is to rob him of something which is his, to oppress and thwart him. But to prescribe his use of either, so far as that use relates to himself and does not encroach upon the freedom and opportunity of others, or unfit him for the duties of citizenship, is a hothouse process of paternalism to be avoided by practical democracy.

Democracy takes into account that no two men are alike. That human beings are not cast in a mold. That while there should be a basic equality of opportunity there can not be a basic similarity of experience. Similarity of development, in the sense of perfection of development, can only be obtained by different means. Individuality, environment, choice, free will, even climate and sea and land, mountains and plains, render similarity as impossible as it would be undesirable. Dwellers in

Sahara and dwellers in New York City may be one in spirit, but their outward circumstances are as dissimilar as the camel and the subway.

It is obvious that a country thinly settled by a pastoral people requires a very different set of rules for the just guidance of its people from that required by a densely populated modern city. It is reasonable that people living together in special countries and under special conditions should determine the rules, or laws, or obligations to which they consent, as best suited to their special needs. The outlines of nationality and the principle of self-determination rest upon such differences in human environment and experience.

In time of war or famine, or in the face of some great disaster we know that rules become necessary which in normal times would be in the last degree restrictive, oppressive and inexcusable. Circumstances may, therefore, cause the expansion or contraction of the number and kind of rules by which democracy operates as a governing force; but the principles of their creation and the equality of their application, as well as the effect of their application on the free spirit of the individual, should be unchanging.

Democracy, in principle, never loses sight of the rights of the individual in its concern for the rights of society as a whole. Yet no practical form of government has ever produced citizens more ready to sacrifice themselves, one

for another, or many for the good of all, than has democracy.

IX

STABILITY OF DEMOCRACY

Democracy, while progressive in movement, is conservative in principle. This has aroused the resentment of irresponsible radicals and reckless fanatics. Democracy, which is at all times and under all circumstances sensible, takes conditions as they are and endeavors to improve them as speedily as possible, but its spirit is opposed to pillage and massacre, and it does not desire to see the continuity of evolution broken by a riot of destruction as a necessary prelude to reformation.

There is nothing whatever alarming about democracy to any well-intentioned person. Democracy respects property rights because they represent individual rights. Mine and thine are words with very distinct meanings which democracy clearly understands. Such material rights are not needlessly abridged, although they must continually be adjusted to conform to higher and more important human rights.

Democracy values its institutions, and the caprices of the hour do not readily divert it nor stir its depths. It distinguishes between essentials and non-essentials, but it should not be disconcerting because of this. The tides of life

flow onward to a fuller appreciation and to a continually broadening application of democracy, but they do not leave behind the least of the essential principles which we have already apprehended and applied.

Democracy enables us to be the direct agents of a swift and beneficent evolution, and to know that we, as conscious and responsible agents, contribute materially to that evolution. No bequest, however vast and well bestowed, can so benefit those who come after us as the simple passing on of an undiminished heritage of true democracy.

Democracy, repudiating as it does all extraneous control save that which has its origin in the common consent, a consent to which each individual has agreed by his representatives, imposes upon itself stability, order, discipline, the sense of obligation, and above all, respect for the rights of others. It shuns license in all its forms.

License is more abhorrent to democracy than to any other form of government for, provoking by its excesses the very restraint it would evade, it places a premium on arbitrary control. License is an intemperate abuse of freedom with which democracy can have nothing whatever in common. The two can not be reconciled.

X

THE PRACTISE OF DEMOCRACY

The comprehension of democracy requires an open mind. The willingness to practise democracy presupposes a love of justice, an understanding of fair play, and an eagerness for that high type of civilization which causes men to desire for all those benefits which formerly each sought for himself alone.

Two things are to be reckoned with in any serious consideration of democracy. The principle and the application. If the principle behind any action is sound and the application is sincere and honest though inadequate, the result, however unsatisfactory, must command respect. But when the principle upon which we act is correct and exalted and the application perfect, man, we may be sure, is approaching his highest development. We have not in our practise of democracy passed from the experimental stage into the latter and happier stage. But we have made progress.

Democracy sets up a government with a conscience; a government with a heart as well as a government with a head. It does not seek centralization of government, nor to heap power into pinnacles, but individual and national freedom in the most literal sense. The love of home, the love of country are so sacred to de-

mocracy that it would have all men mutually respectful of these deep-seated passions.

The practise of democracy should develop a strong and self-reliant people, a people consciously and intelligently aware of the advantages of their form of government, and watchfully jealous of its preservation. There is abundant evidence that democracy in America, both in the United States and Canada, is developing such a people. Even racial backwardness, as represented by the negro, and social and political backwardness, as represented by the flood of immigration from countries unfriendly to our institutions, the alien one-tenth among us, have not materially retarded our advance.

A republic may rest on forms; a democracy can only rest on living principles. A republic may be imperialistic, or democratic, or socialistic. A limited monarchy in which the will of the people is given effect by legislative representation can be infused with the essential principles of democracy. Any representative form of government which derives its existence from the free and continued and approving consent of those who maintain it may serve as the agency of true democracy. Democracy demands no stereotyped or arbitrary form of government, but it does require agencies perpetually sensitive to the will of the people. Democracy is not based upon standardization.

The administrative group in England is much more closely allied to the legislative body, and

is more responsive to its wishes than our own administrative group is to our legislative body. In England the administration must be continually sustained by a majority of the legislative body or it automatically surrenders office. Whereas the administrative group in Washington, deriving its authority solely from the president, is secure in its tenure of authority for the duration of the administration.

XI

GOVERNMENT A MEANS, NOT AN END

Government is not in itself an end. It is only a means. It is only a somewhat elaborate, and usually awkward and costly, agency set up by the people, or by the masters of the people, for the conduct of the public business. Its operations are carried forward by the paid servants of the people; whether the payment takes the form of tribute or of salary is immaterial; the people pay in either case. With us government is merely the agency through which the principles of democracy are applied to the management of the public business. The public business is none the less the people's business because it has passed beyond the control of individuals, as such, and beyond the control of communities, to be dealt with by special agents of the people, appointed by the people and having no authority whatever save as the representa-

tives of the people. Government is not democracy.

Government is merely the agent of nationality, at most the representative of nationality, it is not nationality. Change in government does not mean break in nationality. The nation continues though the government may change. But government has always been unwilling or reluctant to acknowledge this distinction, having always as its chief concern its own preservation, and has therefore attempted, time out of mind, to clothe itself in the sacred garment of nationality, seeking for its own ends to confuse the one with the other, hoping thus to hold men's allegiance. In the scheme of democracy an incubus is an incubus, and for an incubus to call itself a government does not change the fact.

Though government and nationality are distinct, a fat and overtoppling government may cause the rapid decline of a nation. A bad government may involve a nation in ruin. Diseased governments, vain governments, parasite governments, corrupt governments, insane governments, inefficient governments, egotistical governments, mankind has suffered from them all, and all alike have claimed his loyalty in the name of nationality.

It is the purpose of democracy to establish and to maintain a sound, sane and efficient institutional authority by the consent and sup-

port of all citizens; it is not the purpose of democracy to set up or to maintain individual authority. Confident as we are of our institutions we can not afford to forget that even our own admirable government is not and never can be the sole guardian of our freedom, nor that it can have no permanence, stability or volition apart from the will of the people whose creation and instrumentality it is and whose hopes and aspirations it reflects.

XII

THE REPRESENTATIVE PRINCIPLE

The representative principle is the real and unique medium of practical democracy. The administrative group has always been necessary to every form of government, monarchial, imperial, republican or democratic. The legislative department very early made its appearance in almost all forms of government. It was only when the conduct of legislation became representative, and voiced the will of the people and not the will of a class, that it became democratic. Representative legislation is more vital to democracy and more truly the instrument of democracy than representative administration. It is less liable to bias and corruption. Through its agency the people never relinquish their control of their government or institutions. They are represented always by their spokesmen and active agents, who give direction to the admin-

istrative branch of the government and pass enabling legislation, without which the administrative department would be utterly powerless.

XIII

DEMOCRACY AND ITS GOVERNMENTAL AGENCIES

The executive department, even in a democracy, has been known at times to exhibit a certain jealous impatience, a certain domineering aggressiveness, in its relation to the legislative department which is not always edifying; and a tendency is at times observable in the former to coerce the latter into actions often against its better judgment on the plea of administrative necessity.

Pressure is continually being brought to bear by the executive branch of the government to secure the passage of measures vital to the success of administration policies, which are, conceivably, not of equal importance to the nation at large. This is a form of usurpation. Provincialism and narrow party spirit survive even election to high office and give disconcerting evidence of themselves. Measures are hurried or held back by party control for party purposes, and in a hundred ways the executive branch of the government is making dangerous inroads upon the province and authority of the legislative branch. Such a tendency savors of autocracy rather than democracy.

XIV

THE ADMINISTRATIVE GROUP

When it is remembered that every member of the Senate and the House of Representatives is directly elected by vote of the people, and that each man represents the deliberate choice of a constituency, and when it is also remembered that of the entire administrative branch of the government not one member, save the chief executive, is elected; that all, cabinet ministers, heads of the great departments, ambassadors, ministers, consuls, all federal office-holders in the various states and territories, as well as the chiefs of the army and navy, with the subordinates of all these to the number of thousands, are all appointed by the one sole executive who has received the votes of the people, it should be at once evident which is the truly democratic branch of our government, and which the branch to safeguard most jealously from encroachment.

The officials appointed by the president and who with him comprise the administrative group, may very fairly represent the administration of the day, but they can not be truly said to represent the people at large. It is well known that many receive office as a reward for purely party services, and at times individuals of such singular unfitness have been chosen that they have been driven from office by public

clamor. Generally speaking, they no doubt make excellent agents of the chief executive, which is the purpose for which they are chosen. But it can not be forgotten that certain of them have sufficient initiative to commit their administration to definite policies, with which policies the people have had no initial part, and of which they may not approve, though they perforce become responsible for them.

These appointees of the president in time of crisis, acting as they must in the name of all the people, are very frequently men quite unknown to the country at large; adroit and serviceable politicians, men schooled in the manipulation of conventions, rather than disinterested and dispassionate public servants. Among those holding the highest offices in the gift of the president have been men who have never been elected to any representative body.

And this is permissible under our Constitution, for the president, who is charged with the responsibility of carrying on the government, must be free to summon or dismiss all his subordinates at will or no harmony of executive action could be assured.

But such a formation of the administrative group removes it very widely from the legislative body which is directly chosen by the people and which is directly answerable to the people, and which is directly dependent upon the people for continuance in office.

All executive officers who initiate should have but a limited tenure of office, for their power to fasten policies upon the nation is very great and might, with the best intentions, be abused. On the other hand, the long continuance of senators and members of the House of Representatives in their places has been shown by experience to be desirable. These men are surrounded by their equals, and can only by superior abilities, and the advocacy of wise measures, gain or hold any unusual or predominant influence with their fellow legislators or with the people at large.

Atrophy may sometimes threaten a legislative body, but autocracy can scarcely find a less responsive tool than the legislative representatives of a free people. The choice of such representatives should never be tampered with nor influenced by power of any sort; neither the money power, the power of organized labor nor entrenched political power should be permitted to influence the choice of the people's representatives.

XV

THE ECLECTIC MAJORITY

The administrative group derives its vital powers constantly from the representative body, and it is chiefly through the representative body that majority rule is given effect. In a democracy it is vital that the eclectic major-

ity, ever changing, ever being recruited by new and alert elements, should wield a controlling influence within well defined, constitutional limitations.

The majority is the agency of governmental evolution. It affords stability to sound leadership while it relegates the unfit to the ranks. It gives authority to men and measures. It can continue or withdraw support and so exerts a cooling and a sobering influence. It can apply the brake to headstrong administrations. It is the instrument of the intelligent minority, for it is never fixed nor stationary. It alters continually as new issues arise or old issues come to fruition through general acceptance. It is constantly depleted and as constantly recruited. It has the cutting edge of a buzz saw. It is a large evolutionary body, audible as a steam whistle in a democracy, but powerless, except by violence or rebellion under autocracy.

In a democracy the majority is never a mob. It records its approval or its disapproval of governmental measures, and of public servants, at frequent and fixed intervals. The constant breaking up and reforming of majorities permits an almost liquid flow of social and political ideas throughout the whole nation. The majority constitutes indeed almost a third legislative body, and any citizen may raise his voice and exert a direct influence in its assemblies,

and if his cause is good, and his time well chosen, he can accomplish much.

The voice of the majority speaks the final mandate of the people. If properly understood and honestly used the majority is the only essential form of initiative and referendum. It is a strong and terrible force wholly in the hands of the citizen. While the citizen makes just and intelligent use of this power his representatives can not and dare not go far astray.

XVI

PUBLIC BURDENS

Increased taxation, in one form or another, is inevitable in a developing country. But once we have, by private and by national enterprise, made available all the wealth of our natural resources, and made efficient our control over them, then, if taxation is to be still further increased, the point of safety will be passed and we shall see in our own land something very like the Oriental tax gatherer, who seizes all that the unhappy owner can not conceal.

There is a common sense and reasonable limit to public burdens just as there is a point at which taxation becomes so oppressive that it can not be endured. Because a course is taken it does not necessarily mean that it should be followed to extremes. If reason dictates a certain policy at a certain time it can determine

also the emphasis which should be placed upon it.

The people can have too much of almost anything, public burdens included. The size of the mill should be proportionate to the grist which comes to its doors. How much government for how many people, not for how many officials, is an important question with which practical democracy must reckon in the near future. No man's back should be bent by public burdens in a democracy.

Nations which have lived under extravagant and bloated governments have invariably experienced long periods of exhaustion. We have only to remember India, Persia, Egypt, Greece and Rome to realize that exhaustion rather than military conquest may well account for their long seasons of quiescence and the shifting of power to other empires. This exhaustion has appeared to effect not only material power, but intellectual and spiritual power as well.

The exploitation and exhaustion of natural resources was never so swift or so general as at present, and while we may look to science and invention to extend our knowledge and control of such resources to limits far beyond those at present apprehended, we must still exercise a reasonable frugality in our use of them, remembering that we are tenants of a generation only, not owners in fee.

Extravagance is always under suspicion. It

is a form of recklessness to which office-holders have been strongly addicted from the earliest times. If the brake on governmental extravagance which the Constitution places in the hands of the people is not sufficiently strong to be effective it must be strengthened or made more efficient in some way. This of course applies more especially to normal times, but even in time of war, and the period of readjustment which follows war, the need for the judicious expenditure of the people's money only increases with the vastness of the sums involved and the imperative need of their direct application to their essential uses.

The momentum of government should not be headlong. The progress of government must be an orderly, intentioned and directed advance. Uncontrolled momentum has swept many nations to destruction. Unwillingness to halt and to consider, inability to retrench, indifference to ultimate reckonings, all these are indications of a downhill grade. No other form of extravagance can compare with governmental extravagance. From time immemorial the willing and the unwilling alike have given blood and treasure for the maintenance of governments; private indebtedness has been met by private means, solvent generation has succeeded solvent generation; while bad governments by wars, mismanagement, corruption and inefficiency, have loaded the people of the whole world with

almost incalculable debt. The people have always been held responsible by government; the time has come when the people must hold governments responsible. The material lightening of the burdens of government as the development of the individual increases is a very definite end toward which society should proceed.

XVII

DEMOCRACY AND INDIVIDUAL OPPORTUNITY

While American democracy may, and does, and always shall, we hope, rejoice in shirtsleeves and in crossroads philosophy, and while it still maintains a time-honored association with tobacco chewing in high places, it is not opposed to order and dignity and beauty. Nor is true democracy in the least antagonistic to true aristocracy. Indeed, from the foundation of the nation there has been a strong and useful alliance between democracy and responsible and contributive aristocracy, and the alliance remains firm to-day.

Only those profoundly ignorant of life contend that aristocracy is merely a thing of possessions and externals. It is the flowering of our civilization, and all that is best in life and environment has contributed to its making. Its finer forms represent those things which we all admire and which, consciously or unconsciously, we all desire to make our own. Among the reasonable aims of democracy the first, perhaps, is

to bring about that equal justice in things material, things intellectual, and in things spiritual, which shall insure to each of us our inalienable right to that full, rich and balanced development of body, mind and spirit which alone constitutes true aristocracy.

Democracy has no quarrel with rounded and completed lives. Democracy believes that all lives should be full, rich and complete. And to attain this end democracy believes that both self-development and self-restraint are necessary for every individual. It teaches the strong and fortunate to serve, and it gives freedom and space to the souls of the poor. When democracy is perfectly apprehended and perfectly applied all men and all women should be both fortunate and strong. Meanwhile there are no servile people in America, or if there are they have missed the spirit of our institutions.

Democracy has more to do with character than with circumstances, although it is vitally concerned with those circumstances of life which warp or belittle character. While we realize that our practise of democracy is incomplete, and that our system is very far from the equitable and perfect thing it should be, and which we mean it shall become, we are yet so conscious of our progress, we so prize our inestimable heritage, that we regard with serious misgivings any radical deviation from the course which thus far has been so successfully pur-

sued, and we have not ceased to believe that there is room for every man to win his just share of material prosperity in our rich land.

Still holding this belief, we, as a people, are undoubtedly reluctant to set in motion those restrictive measures which would aim at the arbitrary equalization of material conditions, preferring to leave to individual initiative and the vast natural resources of the nation that equalization which we all know to be both necessary and desirable.

With all our faults and immaturities, with promise yet outweighing performance, America remains a democratic nation, responsible, keen, altruistic, self-reliant, kind and helpful, a nation guided in its advance by none but honorable purposes. Greed, we admit, is practised here, but not with any particular genius by the typical American. Wealth and the agencies of wealth are passing very rapidly to the control of other races who, in some measure, hold themselves distinct from the spirit of our institutions.

The typical creative American, the real American, is not as a rule a money-getter of the spider type. He is a democrat. He prefers to work freely, outside of combinations, and he is not natively a usurer nor a hoarder. He and his people have long enjoyed the ease and freedom of a wide-open land, and their instinct is to trust to their own energy and the bounty of

their new world rather than to hoard and connive for gain, or so to regulate wealth and industry as to eliminate material inequalities.

There has been, undoubtedly, a keen zest in battling with the vast economic problems of a new and undeveloped continent. Strong men have performed titanic labors, which have advantaged themselves and the whole nation. There has been a race for wealth, a performance not altogether unrelated to the contests in which great athletes have indulged; a rivalry of vigorous minds in dealing with new problems in new ways in a new world.

The masterful men who have exemplified this transitory phase of our development have been recruited from no special class, but have been representative of the enterprise and energy as well as the constructive genius of the whole people. They constitute no class. It is the fashion to decry these pioneers and their labors. Time will present them more truly to the generations which come after us. In certain respects they were splendid examples of democracy.

The abuse of wealth, and of the power resulting from the possession of wealth, is antagonistic to the spirit of democracy. But wealth is a force, and its intelligent use in the hands of individuals has already accomplished so much for the world in every department of human affairs that its total abolition, which socialism

would accomplish if it could, might very well retard human progress and bring about a static condition which would inevitably be followed by decline and decay.

Individuals can experiment where governments can not venture. There are provinces of human happiness which await discovery and exploration; there are countless individual purposes, countless necessary adjustments to life, which only the individual control of means permits to reach fruition. The better standards of life, the recognition of the universal right to happiness, we owe to individual initiative. The good which is to become general must first be individual. Socialism would pool all the world's wealth and place it under the control of a bureaucratic committee. Democracy would interpose no barrier between the individual and his free opportunity save that necessary self-restraint which takes into account the rights of others.

It would seem a mistake to limit unnecessarily such individual experiments, such individual discoveries, such individual explorations and adjustments which have conferred such benefits upon mankind, by arbitrarily denying to individuals the means and opportunity to make them. We can not compel the human race to seek happiness by rote. Man's individual conquest and mastery of natural resources is fundamental; it is only his forced labor in asso-

ciation with his fellows which is artificial. Democracy maintains that it will be less difficult to adjust the latter relations than to encroach upon those instinctive rights which men derive from the former. The voluntary element in life can not with safety be replaced by even the most beneficent form of state compulsion.

Here again, as in all things, democracy would leave to the individual as wide a latitude as possible with justice to society at large. The balance between use and abuse must be struck and maintained, the glutton and the vulture type can not be permitted to exploit their fellows, but a thousand initiatives are more apt to produce good results than a single governmental initiative given effect by a bureaucratic autocracy.

Democracy, which recognizes that voluntary social obligation is the better equivalent of conformity to social control, is consequently loath to submit to narrow governmental or executive direction any social agency which can be sustained in organization and operation and maintained in the efficient fulfillment of the purpose for which it was set in motion outside governmental agencies. All activity being, in accordance with the theory of democracy, governed by principle, government itself becomes only one of its many agencies of social regulation and control.

The instrumentalities of progress should not

be diminished or restricted needlessly. And manifestly wealth is one of these. The evidence which has thus far been advanced in support of the socialistic contention that all wealth should be concentrated in the hands of the state to be doled out like soldiers' pay does not seem at all conclusive.

The over-concentration of wealth, and the flagrant abuse of the power of wealth, of which the evidence is world old, present grave problems for consideration and solution. But they are not insurmountable nor so difficult of settlement that wealth and the power of wealth should be altogether removed from private control. Intelligent use of the accumulations of man's energies and of nature's vast resources, which together constitute wealth, is a duty which devolves upon organized mankind.

Already the principle is very generally recognized that few things actually belong to any one, or are left by society undisputably and unrestrictedly to the use of any one. Those things which we enjoy in common with others, or which we share with others, or which bring us into any sort of relation with others, can not be defined as absolutely our own.

Ownership is of brief duration; it is in fact only another sort of obligation, for the recognition of stewardship has long been general. The property of the subject in times past was always at the mercy of the sovereign, confisca-

tion was frequent. The property of the citizen seems now to be none the less at the mercy, or the disposition, of the state.

Limitations will undoubtedly be set from time to time to the amount of wealth, and the power of wealth, which society feels it safe to entrust to the keeping of one man, or to the stewardship of any set of men, or trust, or corporation. But such limitations should not involve wars upon wealth, nor the abolition of reasonable property rights.

The home and the means with which to maintain it independently are linked too closely and too inseparably with life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness to be swept away by socialistic doctrines. While men go about the world designated by names long continuous in their families, and not by numbers, while personal attachments survive, and local attachments remain, there is likely to remain also some form of property ownership, and some reasonable and particular material reward for thrift and effort, the control of which shall not be wholly removed from our hands to be taken over by some man behind a desk who has no sympathy with us or with our purposes.

XVIII

DEMOCRACY AND INHERITANCE

Democracy does not take issue with the transfer of reasonable material wealth from one

generation to another by bequest and inheritance. But it undoubtedly maintains and asserts its right to set definite limits to the amount of wealth and the power of wealth which may pass by such means. Where inheritance encroaches upon the equalization of opportunity, or even upon the ultimate equalization of distribution, it runs counter to the spirit of democracy, but not otherwise.

Concerned as practical democracy must be perforce with the reasonable regulation of private inheritance it is far more deeply concerned with the preservation and just and undiminished transmission of what may be called the public inheritance. This public inheritance is a thing so vast, so absolutely free to all men, that it dwarfs private inheritance completely. It is made up of all the enlightenment of the ages; of man's developing conception of religion, philosophy, justice and humanity; of science, invention, of knowledge of all sorts; of literature, art and music; of all the gifts of civilization; of the clearer vision, from generation to generation, of honor, ethics and beauty; of innumerable benefits which enrich us and enfold us day by day; an inheritance from which all free and enlightened men may fill their lives with every high essential, taking as much, or little, as they choose. With this public inheritance democracy is most vitally and practically concerned, its purpose being to increase its

sum and its just distribution until no man or woman can be found beyond its reach and influence.

XIX

DEMOCRACY AND ECONOMIC ADJUSTMENT

Democracy would not lightly barter away our present economic security of condition in all classes, partial and imperfect as it is, for any untried panacea. Here again it is apparent that an experiment is not necessarily a solution. Our present economic arrangements accomplish certain ends, and are instrumental in sustaining those making effort as well as in sustaining those already secured by the accumulations of past effort. Credit results, in great and small amounts, and some measure of peace and economic security is the result in all classes.

This is a natural evolution of the relation of mankind to our complicated material environment. Much remains to be perfected, but enough has been gained to indicate the course of our advance. The security of the individual must be further increased and guaranteed without diminishing either his independence, his free will or his incentive to effort.

These problems of adjustment democracy recognizes, but the value of what has already been achieved of economic justice is too great to risk its total loss by any violent severance of our traditions. Improve we must, destroy we

may not. Economic vitality must be maintained and individual opportunity preserved while we withdraw every discoverable barrier which interferes with the evolutionary flow of economic forces.

No true democrat would deny to another any advantage which he desires for himself; that is axiomatic. But he does not wish to be limited by a low average, nor to be denied the right to any sort of well being, material or otherwise, which he may be capable of attaining so long as the pursuit of his purpose does not curtail the same advantage, or the opportunity of such advantage, to his fellows. Democracy means a steady leveling up, just as socialism appears to mean a steady leveling down.

Applied democracy is going forward almost too rapidly along these lines of curtailment; and it is in some danger of overriding its fundamental principles in its eagerness to set right world-old abuses which are not of its own creation. It needs to borrow no idea of confiscation or punishment of wealth from the philosophy of socialism. As rapidly as individual enterprise combines capital and labor and produces industrial agencies of importance to society at large society at large will supervise them or control them.

And this process will be correct. But it should not be accompanied by injustice. The captain of industry, even the capitalist, should

not be thrown to the clamoring mob of discontented foreigners who do not as yet understand nor value our institutions, and who blame us for the wrongs which they have suffered under autocracy. Even the capitalist should be fairly dealt with by his own people so that his contribution to the general welfare shall be justly apportioned.

Property rights have long been defined. Special measures have been taken for their protection from the earliest times, but very definite burdens and obligations have accompanied these rights; only those who live by the daily labor of their hands are unaware how heavy and restrictive these burdens and obligations may become. The rights of labor are now being defined and safeguarded by special measures. This is most just and necessary. Broad social justice is absolutely essential to democracy; it is the essential aim of democracy; but labor must not be surprised if with its special privileges, its immunities and its increased well being, go hand in hand increased obligations and more definite responsibilities to organized society.

XX

DEMOCRACY AND MODERN INDUSTRIALISM

Modern industrialism presents new and complex problems into which we must look deeply; but the world is not yet ready to accept the

standard of the industrial worker as its only and final standard, and this as much in fairness to the industrial worker, and those dependent upon him, as to the rest of society. His condition is not and should not be more static than that of any other citizen.

Democracy is the most responsible of all forms of government, just as it is the most conservative. It sets apart no class. It is opposed to cast distinctions. Its mandates are delivered by the people in their entirety acting with good will toward one another, with confidence and mutual esteem. It aims at the steady elimination of all class feeling by freedom and equalization of opportunity. Diversity of interest and occupation are inseparable from freedom; these produce difference of material condition, but such a difference of condition based on free choice outlines no arbitrary class distinction. It is a small price to pay for independence. The free man who in a free country follows the vocation of his own choice has no just grievance against any one.

Democracy is opposed to permanent social stratification of any sort, and it is reluctant to advocate measures which recognize such arbitrary distinctions between man and man. However, democracy is as capable of the satisfactory solution of industrial problems as it is of solving any other political or social problem which may arise. Freedom, justice and equity

are concerned in such problems. Democracy is eliminating human hindrances by adjustment and by readjustment, and will continue to do so until spiritual, intellectual and physical freedom become as naturally ours as the air we breathe.

Our age of invention, with its harnessing of steam and electricity, our era of exploitation, must be followed by periods of adjustment, and of readjustment, and these adjustments must evolve from the conditions themselves if they are to be of enduring value.

Once the just ends of labor have been obtained any further progress of its separate aims and interests becomes a form of oppression quite as iniquitous as the tyranny of wealth or any other form of tyranny.

Organization of wealth, organization of class, organization of race, or the organization of those of separate nationality, can only be regarded as so many threats in a democracy, which is in itself an organization of society in which equal justice is sought for all alike. Like party administration such organizations, if not pressed to extremes nor used as agencies for the subversion of the government, if not inspired by ruthless selfishness or blind fanaticism, may accomplish good. But it is a fine line which is drawn between their advantages and their disadvantages. The extortionate monopoly which seeks to exploit the nation's resources, and the strike which would paralyze

the nation, or the organization of anti-American foreigners, are all outrages upon the nation and hindrances in the path of democracy.

XXI

SOCIAL RIGHTS AND PRIVATE RIGHTS

Already it may be said that actual private rights are comprised of the residue remaining to the citizen after all public rights and claims have been satisfied. The property owner must pay his tax or lose title to his property. He can not forbid streets or roads to cross his land if public need or even public convenience demand that they should. Confiscation follows speedily upon neglect to comply with the demands of organized society. Ownership of material things, and freedom in their use, are relative terms which are every day destined to receive a narrower and stricter interpretation. You may use, but you may not abuse, is a law of organized society. No title holds against it.

It becomes doubly necessary, then, to safeguard the vital interests which each individual has in the great pool formed of rights conceded to general society for the advantage of all. Of these social rights the citizen is more surely possessed than he is of what we may term his residue of personal rights.

Government must administer that portion of these social rights which comes within the range of its activities with absolute equity, and

their sum can not be abridged to the people by one hair's breadth without dangerous usurpation. The government is the people's agency, and the people are obligated to observe its workings closely at all times so that abuses may not be permitted to fasten themselves upon it or its great and simple purposes be subverted to serve private ends.

XXII

DEMOCRACY AND GOVERNMENT OWNERSHIP

There are not wanting evidences of a deep and wide-spread anxiety that the government is entering upon a policy which is to survive in the form of socialism and government control after the period of reconstruction, an order of things in which method and system and centralized authority shall supplant individual initiative. This is undoubtedly to be apprehended.

The need for concentration which the war occasioned will form habits of mind favorable to such a tendency. But it should be remembered that government ownership is not necessary to government supervision nor even to government control. It should also be remembered that while social adjustments and social regulations are in no sense contrary to the spirit of democracy, when they are necessary, the control aimed at by true democracy is self-control, and that we should be very sure of our ground

before we commit ourselves too deeply to even the most beneficent paternalism.

It is not safe to supplant liberty merely with order. There may well be such a labyrinth of rules and regulations that freedom will be lost in the maze of its intricacies. The veins and arteries of life must not be atrophied by too many restrictions. Nor must too vast a power be placed in the hands of any man.

To pass our difficulties on to the government is not necessarily to solve them. Government has always sheltered more incompetence than private enterprise. Believing that all human activities are parts of a perfect democracy and that government is only one of these, it is obvious that it is democracy itself which is all inclusive and not government. While industry is free it is a partner with government, a separate agency of democracy, which is, like government itself, answerable in all things to the people. Absorbed by government, it becomes its tool and slave. Government ownership must necessarily create a vast class without initiative; only, or chiefly, concerned with perpetuating itself in office. It would sap self-reliance on a colossal scale. It would undermine character, withdraw opportunity, increase party power, and consequently favoritism, and be a perpetual excuse and reservoir for inefficiency.

At no time can the place of governmental affairs in relation to human affairs be lost sight

of with safety. Government must not be permitted to develop into an octopus. It then becomes the ready-made instrument of the usurper, who diverts it from its legitimate uses to serve his own selfish ends.

The essential tasks of government are those which can be performed by no other human agency. With these, and with these only, it should concern itself. These tasks are so numerous and so pressing, and are so certain to increase, that no unnecessary burdens should be placed upon governmental agencies lest in caring for its non-essential duties essential governmental duties are forgotten or obscured.

XXIII

PATERNALISM

Paternalism is always perilous. It is not inherent in the governmental agencies of a free people. Paternalism reduces a people to a state of dependence upon an influence which may at any time be withdrawn to be replaced by incompetence or tyranny. Democracy places its dependence solely upon self-reliance and reliance upon principles as unchanging as they are infinite in application. Individual responsibility is the corner-stone of democracy, the life element of its institutions. Whatever strikes at this, or seeks to control or usurp its operations, strikes at democracy.

Paternalism is based upon a benevolent com-

pulsion. But compulsion is never long benevolent. Socialism, which is the policy of the consciously weak, appears to advocate an autocratic form of paternalism; democracy, which is the faith of the consciously strong, rejects it absolutely. Democracy can not be practised by a people requiring guardianship.

Paternalism has more of the love of the schoolmaster in its composition than the love of the father. Ink flows in its veins rather than warm human blood. It presupposes impersonal wisdom, infallible judgments, and unfailing justice doled out by all-wise public officials. Experience teaches us that such expectations are never realized.

Democracy is a subjective force working always toward objective good. Paternalism would replace it by objective standards. Paternalism would standardize conduct and would even prescribe limits to thought if it could. Democracy allies right principles with right actions by a process wholly voluntary on the part of the individual. Paternalism would direct our lives by the printed formulas of the tax gatherer, the health officer, and the police magistrate; we should, under its rule, enjoy beneficence by commission, inspiration by proclamation, patriotism by permission, and happiness by bureaucratic regulation. Paternalism is a smooth-spoken cousin of autocracy; it is not related in any way whatever to democracy.

The action of governmental agencies upon personality is not only a process of order; it is a psychological process as well. In turn the psychology of the people reacts upon the government; thus it is evident that people and government must go forward together or backward together. It is equally evident that there is a variety of government which while highly efficient in material ways kills or deadens aspiration and so may cause a whole people to lose its vision of the eternal verities. Without this vision all law and order becomes merely a matter of externals and of expediency, and the whole fabric of government, externally perfect, may be in truth dead, rotten or insane. No government should ever outgrow the control of the nation.

XXIV

DEMOCRACY AND FREE WILL

We must not forget in our desire to solve all problems relating to material welfare that there are certain inherent human rights upon which we must on no account trespass. Even the Creator, and every law of nature, permits the exercise of choice and free will in all sentient things. The government which does not take account of this principle, or which denies it a natural exercise, will succeed only in storing energy for an explosion. Living by rule under the eye of the schoolmaster, the government official and the police would become an abomina-

tion. A people who would consent to such a system would be incapable of caring for themselves.

There is a very well defined limit to the number and character of the rules and regulations to which human nature can submit with safety. Organization and system must not strangle individuality and self-reliance if democracy is to survive. Only a free people can maintain a government for a free people. Without self-reliance democracy could not survive. Order, method and system are excellent servants; democracy needs them as servants of its agencies, but they might prove poor masters. The open road has its charm as well as the railway track. One is as useful to humanity as the other.

We must take care that we do not, in the name of a higher efficiency, set up a vicious circle of control. The laws which guide the expression and advance of democracy can not be compulsory either in purpose or effect. Obligation, not compulsion, must be the controlling force of individual action in a democracy. Obligations we acknowledge, compulsion we absolutely reject.

Coercive measures of any sort, no matter how plausible and alluring, should be steadfastly avoided and opposed except in national extremity, and then only accepted for a limited time. A constant and ever-increasing curtailment of the liberties of the individual is inevitable in

any highly organized society. But the true liberty of the individual is not lost to him, as it survives in the life of the whole people. For his concessions he receives the concessions of his fellows.

The demands of modern civilization are already so manifold and complex; the effect of our age of invention upon human character is still so problematic, so experimental, that if we lose clearness of vision and singleness of purpose in relation to our governmental agencies the overwhelming mechanism of life may well daunt the bravest spirit.

While this sacrifice of individual liberty remains voluntary and is undertaken for the general welfare and along lines prescribed by the people themselves, and not by a paternal government, it may be in itself disciplinary, and therefore a certain moral development may accompany it which will mitigate the sacrifice entailed and even convert it into a lesson in the great school of democracy.

For example, the obligatory military training now so generally, and so justly, advocated would be a submission, by consent, for a brief and specified period, to a system of military instruction which would insure the best possible preparation to meet a supreme danger which circumstances have shown may possibly arise. It is scarcely just to our young men that the nation reserves the right to call upon them to

render the most important and perilous of all public services, to risk their lives in its defense, without first having taken every reasonable precaution to insure their fitness and ability to respond to the demand which may at any time be made upon them.

This obligation of preparation would rest upon all alike, and would be of equal advantage to all, subjecting all within certain age limits to a like discipline and development for a like purpose, and for a like length of time. The experience of reasonable people will lead them to concur in such a course at this stage of the world's history. It seems the best insurance which the nation as well as our young men could take out against the dangers of war.

On the other hand, compulsory vocational education is indefensible on any but socialistic grounds. With government control of labor it would complete a vicious circle of arbitrary control and turn our free school system into the first step toward involuntary life servitude. The individual would be lost in the machine; his material capacities having been estimated by a socialistic state as well worth the sacrifice of his free will.

Vocational training, if not compulsory, is an admirable thing. Every fair inducement might well be held out to the free student to make a free choice of the trade or profession or art which he chose to follow. But one atom of

compulsion or coercion and liberty is gone and we should have a socialized state, the utmost travesty upon democracy.

Human relations must forever remain voluntary and pliable if there is to be justice and advance. Socialism would set them as in a mold. Autocracy would hold them as in a vise. The renunciation of actual independence can be carried too far and laws should not needlessly emphasize such renunciations. No man's life should be baffled or dwarfed by governmental restraints in a self-governing nation. Certainly no restrictive law should ever emanate from the government acting as a separate entity and apart from the will of the people. There is no such thing as the will of the government apart from the will of the people in a democracy unless some form of usurpation exists within the government.

XXV

DEMOCRACY AND THE DELEGATION OF POWER

Lovers of democracy should regard with immediate suspicion any smoke screen of secrecy which any agency of the government throws out to conceal its purposes. Privacy of action is to a certain extent essential in the conduct of the public business in times of danger, but there is no excuse whatever for privacy of purpose. The purpose is the people's, the method of its

attainment only is entrusted to their governmental agencies.

No intellectual over-lordship is tolerable in a democracy. A free people can very well have too much centralized thinking. The government, and those who administer it, are not the guardians of the people; they are not even the people's trustees. They exercise only a delegated power. Inspiration, example, devotion to service, these are open to all, but the people elect no man to govern or to rule over them. They elect one of their own number, in whom they have confidence, to administer the government according to the Constitution upon which all have agreed, and to perform the well-defined functions allotted him under that Constitution.

The chief executive administers, executes, at the utmost leads; he neither governs nor rules, having no continuing powers apart from his office, and no power whatever but that which is vested in him by the people to be used for the general benefit for a limited duration of time. He does not impose his will upon the people. It must never be forgotten that we have set up a democracy which is governed only by principles, not a system which is governed by men.

XXVI

THE RELATION OF THE PUBLIC OFFICIAL AND THE CITIZEN

In the scheme of American democracy no awe attaches to government in its executive ca-

pacity. Just as the government, representing and symbolizing our nationality, our hopes and aspirations, and truthfully expressing the will of all the people, commands our admiration, confidence and allegiance, so do the public servants of the people command our respect and our support so long as they faithfully perform their duties. But there is nothing sacred in office-holding merely as office-holding. And no citizen has any claim of any sort whatever upon any office beyond the exact term allotted him by the suffrage of his fellow citizens.

Our Constitution sets up no Olympus. It creates no supermen. Plain American citizens, and our Constitution recognizes no others, delegate to other plain American citizens the responsibility of acting for them in the conduct of the public business. No change occurs in the status of the office-holder. No halo is visible about his head.

No power which is exercised by the official is or can be other than a delegated power, and no power which is delegated is or can be relinquished by the citizen. The responsibility of the citizen is not and can not be passed on to the politician, to the representative, or to the executive. These, in their different degrees, are merely the agents of the private citizen, and in themselves have no vested rights in the government except the basic rights inherent in their own citizenship.

We should never forget that those who hold office in a democracy derive their authority solely from the people whom they represent, whose business it is their duty to conduct, and who maintain them, and that the people are the only guarantors of the existence of the authority vested in the office-holder as agent or representative.

While we all know these things to be true, we do not in the easy habit of democracy give them much thought or lay much stress upon them, and we too readily and too frequently relapse into the old vernacular of power and speak of being ruled and governed as though by individuals and not by our own voluntary conformity to principles which have shaped our convictions and determined our duties.

Old habits of thinking and of speaking, together with less pardonable negligences, have permitted the development of a strong and growing tendency to forget these homely and salutary truths on the part of the office-holder and also to a considerable extent on the part of the citizen. Once secure in his place the office-holder in many instances easily reverts to the comfortable and sustaining idea of the direct exercise of power by divine right, or to some other equally agreeable fallacy, and the indifferent citizen too often appears to acquiesce.

This attitude of mind—an assumption on the part of the office-holder as vulgar as it is false;

essentially the betrayal of a trust in spirit if not in fact—leads naturally and inevitably to an autocratic arrogance, to irresponsibility of action, to a blurred and obscured sense of duty and obligation, to resentment of just criticism or direction, and above all, to great extravagance and carelessness, if not to actual irregularity, in the use of the public funds, and on the part of the citizen to resentment, dissatisfaction, disgust and irritation.

Such an attitude on the part of those holding office in a democracy is wholly unbecoming and undemocratic, and it is necessary to protest as frequently and as strongly as possible against it not only because it makes men inefficient and untrustworthy in office, but even more because of its undermining effect on the standards of the people who, witnessing such exhibitions and receiving such evidences from day to day, might well lose confidence both in their institutions and in their ability as a people to administer them.

XXVII

THE PSYCHOLOGY OF THE PUBLIC OFFICIAL

The psychology of the public official who exercises the people's power, or who expends the people's money with such a liberal, such a personal, gesture, deserves, and will receive, the most careful study by all lovers of true democ-

racy. Democracy has more to fear from the foes, and the fools, of its own household than from all other hostile forces combined.

All lovers of democracy will welcome the day when the office seeks the man and not the man the office. Democracies are not ungrateful, but they do undoubtedly hold to a very strict accountability those who voluntarily propose themselves for office as exceptionably capable of conducting the public business.

When the office seeks the man the people are conscious of a difference, but the private citizen who asks the votes of his fellow citizens must give very definite evidence of meritorious service before the people, sensibly enough, become conscious of any special obligation to him.

It is fortunate, then, that the psychology of office-holding is under the steady scrutiny of all the people. Its manifestations are of many sorts. Few men remain unchanged who exercise great power. There still lingers in some unexpected quarters a strong monarchial bias, a strange imperialistic squint, altogether at variance with every fundamental principle of democracy.

There is, it would seem, no more common hallucination than that which convinces each one of us that we could manage the public business so well that its conduct should be permanently entrusted to our care. Almost every page of history records the activities of some individ-

ual attempting to seize power fully convinced that he could exercise it for his own, if not for the general, benefit. This may be called almost a universal trait so exceedingly common it is and always has been. This time-old instinct, the instinct to rule implanted in us for our own self-government, we degrade and misapply by our attempts to govern others.

Office-holders of very average origin develop amusing doubts of the capacity of "the people" to govern themselves. Great parties have gone to shipwreck on the theory that their leaders knew what the people needed better than the people knew themselves, forgetful altogether of that great body of keen intelligences which make up the determining, though unofficial, leadership of the people. It is this unofficial leadership which in a democracy controls, by the creation of what we call public opinion, the actions of the majority which causes those sharp reactions which are so unaccountable and disconcerting to statesmen bent upon the pursuit of their own purposes regardless of the people's will.

Authority in all its forms clings fondly to old habits. Glamour screens it like a mist. Even in our democracy a belief in the divine right to rule can sometimes be detected in officials. These are insidious and baneful survivals of old instincts. They are like the imperialistic idea, or the militarist idea, or the idea of accumula-

tion, barbarous survivals from uncivilized times. They exist as active forces only in the minds of men still unreleased from obsolete traditions. But while they linger they must be combated. The management of the public affairs must be as little as possible entrusted to persons dominated by such unrealities. And generally, and along all lines, the management of the public affairs must steadily be removed from the grasp of selfish personal ambition.

There must, of necessity, be those who execute the people's will and who administer the people's business and who, in so doing, exercise a certain definite leadership inherent in such obligations; the legislator and the chief executive are in honor bound to employ their highest abilities in the public service, and as righteous conduct is in itself a force, so the able and patriotic legislator or executive outlives in the spirit of the nation the brief limits set to his term of public duty. Noble and impersonal traditions enrich a nation incalculably. The supreme service which alone can add to the number of such traditions democracy seeks, and for such services reserves its most sublime rewards; a living influence for good against the extent of which no limit of time or space is set; a daily evoking of high standards by the simple mention of a name; an added confidence in all things good; a deeper faith because of high example; a deeper assurance of the present and

final beneficence of the purpose which surrounds us; the immortality of love and veneration.

From these high rewards of service none who merit them can be excluded. But mere election to office, though that office be the highest in the gift of the people, creates no superman, endows no man with wisdom, makes no man infallible, nor does it elevate the holder of the office by one hair's breadth above his fellow citizens.

And this should impose no debilitating restraint upon the development of personal greatness, for certainly none should be imposed if the advance of mankind and not the mere continuance of life is the aim. Already in the service of democracy have appeared, at least so we Americans believe, two of the most august figures in all the history of the world—Washington, the Virginia planter, and Lincoln, the Illinois backwoodsman. It is the difference between Nero and Washington, between Napoleon and Lincoln, which democracy would emphasize. Strong men may emulate Washington and Lincoln, if they can; they may not emulate Nero or Napoleon.

In the old monarchial order of things kings, and those who exercised power, the executives and administrators and legislators of those days, were responsible for their own acts. They represented their own power, and their power over the people who lived subject to them, but they did not pretend that they represented the

people themselves, or the consent of the people, in the sense that they executed the people's will and not their own, which might or might not be concerned with the good of the people. The entire responsibility of decision rested upon the leaders, the people merely sustained them in their decisions; in extreme cases they revolted against them. Revolt was the only means by which the people could protest the decisions of their rulers; a primitive method to which not a few would resort to-day if opportunity offered.

But this state of things is not true of a democracy exercising its governmental functions by representatives. The citizen himself is the responsible unit, the real legislator, not the representative, the executive, nor the office-holder. The citizen remains responsible for the acts of his agents in all circumstances, and this fact must of necessity change the fundamental attitude of the office-holder to the people at large. As the word implies, and was intended to imply, a representative is one who represents, but he is not the thing represented.

In seeking and accepting office the obligation honestly and intelligently to discharge his duties is on the office-holder, while the responsibility both for his selection and for his acts must inevitably remain vested in the people who elect him. While as in every-day affairs an agent may act for an owner, the distinct relation which the one bears to the other we know

very well can never be confused or obscured without danger. So in the relations of the citizen holding office to the citizens at large there should be no ambiguity, no basic misconception, upon either part.

Looseness of expression very often leads to looseness of thinking. We are continually hearing the incumbent of an office spoken of as though the authority and responsibility vested in the office were inherent in the man himself, indeed as though he had been born possessed of such authority. We should for the sake of our democracy take care to separate the man from the office, otherwise our president would loom a superman one hundred million strong.

The real relation of the people to their most important public servants is well illustrated by the half-quizzical, half-serious, altogether benign figure of Uncle Sam, who is invariably portrayed as the master of the situation, giving council, censure, or praise; always sustaining and helpful, even when admonishing. That tall, lean, shrewd-faced figure typifies the American people, ever at the elbow of their chief magistrate, his truest friend, best councilor and safest confidant.

Our English cousins having a like need, have embodied the spirit of their democracy in the sturdy figure of John Bull, who also cautions, comforts, admonishes or points the way, without fear or favor, and who symbolizes the free

spirit and sound common sense of a free people in their relations to their governmental agencies, and to their own affairs.

XXVIII

EDUCATION IN CITIZENSHIP

Education in citizenship in some adequate form is a well-recognized need of the hour. The individual, who is the essential legislator, the one binding himself to the observation of law for the benefit of himself and his fellows, and who is bound by them in turn, must reserve to himself the right to understand his duties, and the duties of those to whom he delegates the authority to represent him in the actual drafting of laws and the actual conduct of the public business, and to have his children taught those duties, so that the essential legislator of succeeding generations may be able to preserve what is good in the machinery of the administration of the public business and to improve it steadily. It is vitally important to the citizen, and to his fellow citizen, that each should apprehend the full circumference of his public duties and that each should unfailingly perform them.

XXIX

INTERNATIONAL CITIZENSHIP

National citizenship we have for some time sensed, though not completely. We have now to consider also a new and greater citizenship—

international citizenship; world citizenship. The obligations of this new citizenship are destined to increase from year to year. We can not evade them if we would.

Neither individuals, communities nor nations can live for themselves alone. As the individual derives most of his happiness, and much of his well-being, from others, so others are dependent upon him in turn for the completion of their lives, thus each becomes responsible to the other. So it is with communities, and so in the modern world it must increasingly become with nations. The immediate communication of intelligence, swift transportation, and the intimate association and cooperation of nations, amounting as it does to absolute interdependence, precludes any nation from living any longer for itself alone.

In truth the world has become a great community, in which the nations, while remaining distinct, like families in a neighborhood, yet recognize and conform to a common standard for the common good; thus we are brought face to face with international democracy. This international democracy will not, we may be sure, encroach upon nationality, nor set up any supergovernment. But it will bring ultimate harmony in international policies by a real, even if unwritten, alliance of all democratic peoples. The simpler the means by which international

democracy seeks to attain its ends the more certain their attainment will become.

There can be much of principle but little of political detail in our relations with our fellow international citizens. Our best individual contribution to international citizenship will be found in the sober and enlightened citizenship we give to our own nation. No man who is a poor citizen of his own country will for that reason be a better citizen of the world. The fusion of nations like the fusion of races is as impossible as it is undesirable until a like development, experience and purpose unite them. Nations must be as free as individuals, unconstrained in their evolution save by those principles of right and equal justice from which neither man nor nation can ever be exempt.

The agreement of nations, the conformity of nations to those high laws which govern all human actions and all human relations, and the measure of international unity which such adherence must entail; the friendly cooperation of nations, alliance in the face of common peril, the trusteeship of civilization, rather than an arbitrary, restrictive and ill-assorted association under a super-government, should be the hope and purpose of the international citizen. There may be a mismating of nations as well as of individuals. We must not handcuff the nations together; penalties will no more restrain nations than men; the great union

which the days are strengthening rests upon no written document, but upon the fundamental principles of democracy.

XXX

LARGER PURPOSES

Democracy seeks to establish not only the primary responsibility of power, but also the obligation of power. Power of every sort, of every origin, is at all times answerable to organized society; national power is not exempt, economic power is not exempt, industrial power is not exempt, personal power is not exempt. All power which results from the association of individuals must submit to regulation by organized society, and can exist only as an instrumentality of organized society. It is a servant not a master.

But while this is true it is well to remember that the standards of democracy are not all material or industrial or even social standards. Upon just material and social foundations democracy would raise a superstructure of intellectual and spiritual development.

Human evolution must go forward upon all these planes harmoniously if we are to comprehend our environment and to enjoy our opportunities. We must pull with the universe, and we must all pull together. Men are of various minds; of wide diversity of gifts; true freedom and true opportunity lie in the right of perfect

self-development. By such development we all approach the same standards, share the same obligations, and achieve unity of purpose. All men do not desire the same rewards. No scepter could have compensated Shakespeare for the loss of his pen; the command of armies would not have reconciled Columbus to the sacrifice of his caravels. It is therefore well to remember, if we are sometimes impatient with the agencies of democracy because they have not already grappled successfully with all the details of those questions which we call practical, the strong reluctance democracy has ever felt to abridge that higher freedom which is in itself the only certain guarantee we hold.

XXXI

SERVICE AND LEADERSHIP

Externals merely as externals are of no moment whatever to democracy. No gulf yawned between General Washington and the men clad in buckskin and homespun from the right bank of the Potomac. Lincoln would have been the first to disclaim any singular merit. Neither was aloof from his neighbors. The awful splendor which clothes their figures as they still sway the destinies of men by the compelling greatness of their example is the radiance of their beneficence; they were good men and the people knew and loved them.

The service of democracy calls for new

standards of ambition, for new standards of service. Democracy breeds a nation of leaders. It is more probable than improbable that every town and county in the land could, if need arose, furnish the nation with a chief executive and cabinet of able, self-reliant men, perfectly competent to carry on the normal public business, and shrewdly aware of the general direction in which to steer the ship of state even in uncharted waters.

Freedom makes men competent. It makes men ashamed to be ignoble. It develops courage, responsibility and self-respect. It places a sobering obligation upon every man and woman, and, even half comprehended, groped toward, its strength has been sufficient to unite a hundred million people in one great, unselfish purpose.

No form of government can so surely summon courage without brutality, intellect without sophistry, or exaltation without fanaticism to its service, or to the service of the world, as democratic government.

Democracy permits of wide difference of type and choice of service. George Mason and George Washington were undoubtedly men of aristocratic feeling, but no one can question the purity of their democracy. With them the more complete development meant only greater responsibility and higher service.

George Mason exemplified his democracy by his profound faith in a hardy and self-reliant people at a time when few shared his faith. Owner of thousands of acres, he broke down entail; strict churchman he wrote in the Virginia Bill of Rights that religion must be free; slave-owner he struggled mightily to limit and abolish slavery.

Mason's failure to prohibit the importation of slaves was perhaps chief among the reasons which caused him to refuse to sign the Constitution of the United States which he had helped to frame. His opposition to its ratification by Virginia, a noble and constructive opposition, forced the adoption of the first ten amendments, eight of which are almost word for word his own. These amendments in themselves embody most of the fundamental principles of applied democracy.

George Mason was one of those great men who sought the general good with absolute disregard of the consequences to himself or to the privileged class to which he belonged, desiring no special benefits for himself or his posterity; single in his purpose to make the world a better place for all mankind.

All that he did that was radical he did only because it was reasonable, and he did it without the shadow of fanaticism, or the least intemperance of expression. Resolute, sane, clear-visioned and impartial, he broke with the tra-

dition of a thousand years and formulated a new philosophy of government, leaving out no essential element in his selection and arrangement of the great fundamental truths to which the world was then awakening. Yet so quietly did he do his work that his countrymen have scarcely begun to realize the nature or the vastness of their debt to him.

It may be said of George Mason that he was the world's pioneer in the application of the principles of pure democracy to the structure of a state. He laid the foundations of our nation broad and deep upon the very adamantine, everlasting and eternal truths. It was he who first wrote the word happiness in any constitution.

Washington, perhaps we may believe, gave his democracy its supreme expression in the scornful reply which he addressed to Colonel Nicola, who had begged him to accept a crown from the dissatisfied army at Newburg.

"Be assured, sir," wrote the disgusted general, "no occurrence in the course of the war has given me more painful sensations than your information of there being such ideas existing in the army. I am much at a loss to conceive what part of my conduct could have given encouragement to an address which to me seems big with the greatest mischiefs that can befall my country. If I am not deceived in the knowledge of myself, you could not have found a person to whom your schemes are more disagreeable. Let me conjure you, if you have any regard for your country, concern for yourself or

posterity, or respect for me, to banish these thoughts from your mind, and never communicate, as from yourself or any one else, a sentiment of a like nature."

Lincoln, who so perfectly exemplified the homelier aspects of democracy, proved to the world that sublimity is an attribute of character, not a thing of externals. Without one pretension; without one external grace, his goodness has become the illimitable measure of his greatness. Jefferson, the man of intellect, by nature exclusive and refined, an artist as well as a sage, rested his abiding faith in all the people and in so doing linked his name with immortality.

XXXII

CONCLUSION

Our apprehension and our comprehension of the principles of democracy are yet both vague and imperfect. Our application of these principles to the affairs of every-day life is still more imperfect. But we have made some progress on the right road and we shall neither be stayed nor turned aside or turned back for long.

In our ignorance we shall sometimes be misled, human nature will not immediately and always present itself in its best aspects; we shall no doubt often mistake the letter for the spirit, often mistake our individual purposes for the great purposes which finally must shape

our ends; even our enthusiasms may divert us from the sober realities and solemn verities of democracy. But democracy has never been impatient. Out of the school of life is coming a more reasonable humanity, a people better taught, more given to integrity of purpose, more questioning; a people who have taken into their own hands the creation of a nation and the conduct of a continent, a people who have deliberately placed the leadership of principles high above the leadership of men.

Democracy, in itself a thing of the spirit, must pass into the spirit of the people, beyond even its institutions, just as Christianity is passing beyond the churches into the matter-of-fact, every-day life of the people, where it belongs. Christian creeds and dogmas seem to be all but forgotten, but the Christian spirit was never before so potent and alive, its power was never half so irresistible. It has met a great need. It has been vindicated. Men are thankful for it and their hearts are open to it without fear, hypocrisy or cant. It will be so with democracy. Even its detractors sooner or later must inevitably find their refuge in its principles.

A little clearer understanding of democracy, a more perfect love of its principles, these are the best gifts which this generation can make to its youth, and to the youth of succeeding generations. Youth understands democracy

without the need of any definition. Never before has the world owed so great a debt to its young men who have in actual fact made of their bodies the bulwark of Christian civilization. We shall leave to them the tasks of to-morrow with a confidence we do not feel in our dealings with the problems of to-day.

The vital and concentrated spirit of youth, the consecrated spirit of youth, youth consciously animated by a high constructive purpose, by a great intention to achieve the world's regeneration, is vivid and potent and articulate as it has never been before since the dawn of history. With this splendid spirit faith has returned, religion itself has taken on a new meaning, sacrifice a nobler and a higher significance. Thanks to their splendid spirit in the war Christianity and democracy have both triumphed.

If age and experience accept the heroic immolation of youth for any purpose less than to preserve all that is best in the world heritage which youth is to enjoy as the fruit of its sacrifices and its victories, then age and experience are unworthy of their trust. Those who have gladly fought for an ideal must find as high a value set upon that ideal now when they return as we appeared to set upon it when we called them to arms to defend it. Those who will not return must not have died in vain.

The world is aflame with noble enthusiasms. The calculations of selfish ambition must give

way before the realization of the overwhelming debt we owe to youth. The free world is theirs because they have kept it and made it free, and we must take care that we do not diminish its freedom nor dim its high ideals.

Plainly experience must fulfill its duty in the great awakening by distinguishing between those goals which are desirable and obtainable and those which are neither desirable nor obtainable. We must resolutely put aside the blandishments of imperialism and autocracy and all the plausible sophistries of socialism and cleave unswervingly to true, temperate and simple democracy, for therein abides the hope of the world.

THE END

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